

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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"This Bill (Mr. Peel's) was grounded on concurrent Reports of both Houses; it was passed by unanimous votes of both Houses; it was, at the close of the Session, a subject of high eulogium in the Speaker's Speech to the Regent, and in the Regent's Speech to the two Houses: now, then, I, William Cobbett, assert, that, to carry this Bill into effect is impossible; and I say, that, if this Bill be carried into full effect, I will give Castlereagh leave to lay me on a Gridiron and broil me alive, while Sidmouth may stir the coals, and Canning stand by and laugh at my groans."—Taken from Cobbett's Register, written at North Hempstead, Long Island, on the 24th of September, 1819, and published in England in November, 1819.

TO THE MONEY-HOARDERS.

*On the Measures now in Progress
for partially repealing Peel's
Bill.*

Kensington, 26 June, 1822.

MY FRIENDS,

YOU now begin to know most feelingly, that you have acted the wise part. Every move that the

THING is taking and has taken shows how very ticklish it finds its state to be. So many measures are adopted, and so many more are proposed and withdrawn, that it is hardly possible for any one who does not pay constant attention to the subject to be able to say, at any given moment, what is law, and what is not law, with regard to any thing whatever,

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and especially with regard to the *money* of the country. One thing, however, every man knows; and that is, that if he have a golden sovereign locked up in a chest, no law except such a law as would authorize persons to come in and break open the chest and take it away, can put such sovereign in danger; and you, I hope, for reasons before stated, and others to be stated now, have some millions of sovereigns in this enviable situation.

It is a state of *uncertainty*; it is when we know not what may happen next, that men ought to hoard real money. Such is our present state, as you will presently see; and if any man tell me, that by hoarding he loses the interest of his money, my answer is, that that is the price which he pays for his security.

There are now before Parliament a Bill or Bills, the object of which is to keep up prices by adding to, or preventing the further diminution of, the whole quantity of money now in circulation in the

country. Before I say any thing on the *effect* of this measure, it is my business to describe, as nearly as I am able, the nature of the measure itself. Mr. BROUGHAM can speak rather more than five hours at a stretch about the *influence of the Crown* exerted by the means of placemen, pensioners and taxgatherers, though he knows well that the money for those placemen, pensioners and taxgatherers is voted by the House of Commons, and though he knows equally well that it is not the *Crown* that puts in the Members that vote away that money; Mr. BROUGHAM can talk rather better than five hours at a stretch upon this subject; but he can let a *small note* Bill and a *legal tender* Bill; he can let these pass to a second, and, perhaps, a third reading without saying a word about the matter. These measures; or, let them be taken as one, this measure which is to have an effect on the affairs of every man in the country, appears to be going on

as quietly as if they were Bills merely to correct verbal errors and to prevent the misconstruing of laws already passed.

From this defective information on the subject I am able to state to you merely the substance of the measure, and that, too, only as I gather it from here and there a word let drop, and noticed in the shortest manner possible by the reporters. Yet, as you will see, the measure amounts to nothing short of a *partial repeal of Peel's Bill*; and it will be, as you will also see, a fulfilment of the prophecy placed at the head of this Register. You will remember, that, just before the opening of the present Session, I told you, that, during this Session, there would be a "talk about repealing Peel's Bill, and also a talk about reducing the interest of the Debt. Neither (I said) will take place this Session, though both will be much talked about. But, I think, the Session cannot pass over without some little tricking attempt to

"blunt the effect of Peel's Bill.
 "There will be, I am fully persuaded, some attempt to keep out the paper. Something or other, God knows what, to prevent, or to try to prevent, prices from coming down to their natural Gold level."

Now, then, what is the attempt at present making? The country Banks (and this observe is No. 1.) are by law forbidden to make any notes *under five pounds* after May 1824. This is No. 1.; but this No. 1. is only collaterally connected with Peel's Bill. The Bank, I mean the *Borough Bank*, and I call it so because it is indissolubly bound up with the Boroughs; the Borough Bank is by Peel's Bill to issue no notes under five pounds after the first of May 1823; that is to say, after ten months more have passed over our heads. This I call No. 2. of the measure; branch No. 2. of the measure now in progress. The notes of the Bank; the notes of the Borough Bank are now by law a *legal tender*. That is to

say, the Borough Bank, the Scotch Banks, the Irish Bank, the Country Banks, and, in short, any man that owes money may compel persons to take Borough Bank-notes instead of gold and silver. Peel's Bill *puts an end to this legal tender*. And this is branch No. 3. of the measure in progress, as far as I understand that measure, and as far as I am able to understand it from the scanty materials furnished me relative to the important subject.

The Bill or Bills in progress will, if I understand them rightly, enable Country Banks to make small notes for eleven years to come; that is to say, for ever; and thus branch No. 1. is settled. Next they will enable the Borough Bank to issue small notes for the same number of years; that is to say, also, for ever. In the next place, these Bills will continue the law of legal tender in force for the eleven years; that is to say, for ever; that is to say, they will compel people who hold paper-money of any sort, or who

have debts due to them of any sort, to take Borough Bank-notes in payment instead of Gold and Silver; that is to say, we are to return to *cash payments* by the means of Acts of Parliament, which will compel holders of notes of any sort and creditors of every description to receive their payments in *paper-money*, or to receive, if the debtor pleases, *no payments at all!*

It will hardly be pretended; even the disciplined knaves of Corruption will hardly pretend, that this is not a repeal of a large part of Peel's Bill. No, this will not be pretended; for the country is now too enlightened to be cheated by any such pretences. When the measure was before the House the other day, Mr. Ricardo said, that he was *afraid*, that the people *out of doors* would regard it as a *repeal of Peel's Bill*. He may hush his fears; he may whisper quiet to his bosom, for there will be no *regardings* about the matter. The thing will be known to the bottom as well as he knows

the Borough of Portarlington, and that is as well as any jew boy knows the amount of two dozen of oranges, rotten or sound, at two-pence a-piece. Twice twelve make twenty-four; twice twenty-four make forty-eight; and forty-eight pence make four shillings; and these things are not clearer to the mind of the round eyed and hooked nose orange boy, than it will be to the minds of the people of England, that to make Bank Notes a legal tender even down to the sum of one pound is the oddest way in the world of *returning to cash payments*.

But, as the *Feast of the Grid-iron* is to be the certain consequence of Peel's Bill not being carried into complete effect, it becomes me to show, and *very clearly* too, that Peel's Bill will be *repealed* in part, by the measure now in progress. In order to do this we must look at the Acts of Parliament themselves. We begin with what are called the *Restriction* Acts, beginning with that famous Act which first pro-

tected the Bank against the demands of its creditors, and which is Act 45 of the 37th year of the late King which was passed on the third of May 1797. We often talk in a vague manner about Peel's Bill; but after all, what was it in reality? It was an Act *to repeal other Acts*. It was an Act to make the Borough Bank *pay*, that is to say, to give *Gold* and *Silver* in exchange for their notes; that is to say, to *do away the legal tender*, which was the contrary of payment.

Be pleased to bear this constantly in your minds, and then you will be so good as to proceed with me to observe on the nature of the Acts which it repealed. The first of these Acts was, as I have just observed, passed on the 3d of May 1797. In its preamble it sets forth, that it had become necessary to prevent the Bank from issuing cash, in order that there might be cash in the Bank for the exigencies of the State; seeing that the people made unusual demands upon the Bank for

cash. It then enacts divers things to protect the Bank legally against the demands of the holders of its notes. It enacts that the Bank shall not be compelled to pay in real money except under twenty shillings. It enacts that its notes shall be also a legal tender in the payment of taxes. Thus this Act of Parliament did in fact make Borough Bank-notes a legal tender in the payment of any sum above twenty shillings inclusive.

This Act was renewed and continued by thirteen other Acts, (the last of which was passed, in order to save the remnant of the cash) while Peel's Bill was under discussion, in the Spring of 1819. Thus, then, and I beg you to bear this well in mind, the object of Peel's Bill was to repeal these Acts; which were Acts, authorizing and enforcing the *legal tender*. Therefore, if legal tender be again enacted, the Borough Bank is again *protected*, and Peel's Bill is thus far repealed.

Now then, let us see what is said in Peel's Bill itself. This

famous, this immortal Bill, sets out by reciting all the several protecting Acts from that of the year 1797 to that of the year 1819; and then it proceeds thus: "And
 " whereas it is expedient that the
 " restrictions on payments in cash
 " by the said Bank should be
 " continued beyond the time to
 " which such restrictions are at
 " present limited, and that a definite period should be fixed for
 " the termination of such restrictions, and that preparatory measures should be taken with a
 " view to facilitate and ensure, on
 " the arrival of that period, the
 " payment of the promissory notes
 " of the Bank of England in the
 " legal coin of the realm: Be it,
 " therefore, enacted by the King's
 " most excellent Majesty, by and
 " with the advice and consent of
 " the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this
 " present Parliament assembled,
 " and by the authority of the
 " same, That each and every of
 " the said Acts, shall be and the
 " same and every of them is and

“are hereby further continued,
 “until the *first day of May* 1823;
 “and that from and after the said
 “first day of May 1823, the re-
 “strictions on payments in cash
 “under the said several Acts *shall*
 “*finally cease and determine.*”

This is the language of Peel's Bill. The end is, *to insure the payment of the Borough Bank notes in the legal coin of the realm*; and the means is the *ceasing, the final ceasing of all the afore-mentioned Acts.* You see the whole jut of the matter lies in the *legal tender*; that is to say, in protecting the Bank against the legal demands of the holders of its notes. As to *restraining* the Bank; as to *prohibiting* the Bank from paying in cash, that was all mere delusive talk; for it was the Bank that first applied to the Ministers to be restrained! This is a curious species of restraint. What should we think of a man who said, “I shall pay my debts as sure as you are born if you do not restrain me!” What

should we think of such a man? Did the writer of the broadest farce that ever set country girls and fellows laughing ever think of farce broader than this? Why, there it is, in Paper against Gold; there is all the whole farce down in black and white: there are all the actors by name: there is the Borough Bank asking to be restrained and there is the Ministry restraining it. Nevertheless, though the Minister did restrain the Bank, he was not so very cruel as to prevent it from paying, in case of its *taking the thing greatly to heart*: that is to say (and this shows Pitt's humanity), if the Bank directors should want very much indeed; if they should have a great longing to pay; if they should be in danger of losing their health in consequence of this painful restraint, it was provided in every one of these Acts, that they might pay in cash, *whenever they pleased*, only upon giving *five days' notice* to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which

notice the Speaker was required to have inserted forthwith in the London Gazette!

Now don't *laugh*, my friends. Don't laugh at this. It is no laughing matter; but the fact is, that the Bank Directors did remain in a state of *restriction* from the month of May 1797 to the month of March 1819; and never did, during the whole of that time give one single such notice to the Speaker of the House of Commons; but appeared to be as contented and as happy as if they had been under not the smallest restraint in the world. Nay, which you will say is something perfectly surprising, when it was proposed to take off the restraint by Peel's Bill, *they remonstrated against it!* They seemed, like a French married woman, who always dances and skips about to the music of her hymeneal chains, to have become so much attached to *bondage* by habit, as to be terrified at the thought of quitting it, and, like the captive in the bastille, to have

been afraid of being at large, and actually to have pined under the beams of their restored liberty!

Mr. PEEL seemed resolved to get the better of this strange propensity; this unaccountable love of thralldom; and, to speak plainly, to take from them not a restraint to pay their debts, but the protection which the law gave them against paying those Debts. For two-and-twenty years they had been saying that they were *able* to pay; that they were *ready* and *willing*: for those two-and-twenty years they had never been really restrained but for *five days*; for they might have paid at any time upon giving five days' notice. They many times said that they *wished* to pay. Mr. PEEL, who really does appear to love "plain dealing," seems to have said, "Come ye "humbugs; we will stand this no "longer; we will take off the "protection, and *make* you pay." He no sooner proposed such a thing than they began to cry out about the *dangers to the country*

from their being compelled to pay.

So, you see, as to *restraint* there was none; that was all a mere pretence and delusion from the beginning. The restraint was *upon the people*; upon those who held the notes. They were restrained by the legal tender law, from getting the cash in exchange for the notes; and this legal tender law; to get rid of *this, and this only, and to "insure the "payment of the promissory "notes of the Bank in the legal "coin of the realm;"* to effect this object the Bill declares to be the foundation and only foundation of its enactments.

Therefore, if legal tender be again enacted this Bill is overthrown! This Bill is repealed as to its most essential part. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is reported to have said as to this business, that his new measure above mentioned, is to give powers, not given by "*existing laws*;" why did not he say, not given by Peel's Bill? Why

does he give the nickname of *existing laws* to the thing? And does he imagine that the nation will be blinded by any such shift or shuffle as this? According to Peel's Bill, legal tender in Bank - notes, whether Borough Bank or any other Bank, is to cease in *ten months' time*. Therefore, if legal tender be now enacted to exist after that ten months shall be expired, the moment that enactment takes place, Peel's Bill is partly repealed; and it cannot go into complete effect, and my memorable prophecy is fulfilled.

The new Bill will not be *entitled* a Bill to repeal Peel's Bill.

But, no tricks! I will have no tricks. I, as the girls at the fairs say, "don't mean to stand none of your nonsense;" I will have "plain dealing." If they shuffle Mr. PEEL out of his Bill, they shall not shuffle me out of my Feast. None of your sawney's "hoot-a-wa-mon;" none of your paddy's blubbering botheration; none of your hubble-bubble stuff,

such as turns the brain of the Norfolk numskull, as thunder makes bad beer sour. I am resolved to have the thing straight forward, broad and clear as the road by which sham saints go to the devil.

No matter to me what the Bill is called. They may call it a Bill, as they did once before, when the enactment was to put a stop to cash-payments, a Bill to *hasten* cash-payments. They may call it, in short, what they like; but if it contain a clause, making bank-notes a legal tender after the 1st of May next, it is a repeal of Peel's Bill. Names are nothing in a case like this. Suppose a Bill were passed to-day making it death instead of banishment to bring the House into contempt; and then suppose another Bill were passed to-morrow, saying that that crying offence should be punished only with banishment. This latter Bill would be a *repeal* of the former Bill, though it might make no *mention* of it first or last. Bills are like wills: if they differ, that which bears the latest date

has the force, and the former one has none. *Tricks*, then, will be useless with me. I shall stick to the text; and, thank God, we have it down this time in black and white.

But, an Act of Parliament has always a WHEREAS, which is a very nasty and troublesome thing, when people want to shuffle. This Act of Parliament that is going to be passed, must have a WHEREAS as well as other Acts of Parliament; and Borough elector never had mouth that watered for bribe more than my mouth waters to get at this WHEREAS. I have been almost cracking my brains ever since I first heard of this forthcoming measure, to imagine how the Act will *begin*! I can readily conceive that the preamble will be barren enough in *reasons*. In cases where there are no reasons at all, however, something must be said in this way. It will never do to say, "WHEREAS be it enacted;" and it will never do to begin with, "Be it enacted." Such

a novelty would shock the sensitive feelings of the House ; and would, at the least, cause a horse laugh to be heard from one end of the country to the other. The Bill may begin with, "Whereas it is *expedient*, that," But, that *what*? Here's the rub. What is it that will be expedient? Peel's Bill says that "it is *expedient* to "ensure payment in the *legal coin* "of the realm." The Speaker, when he presented the Bill, told the Prince Regent that it was *expedient* to return to cash-payments; to return to our ancient and heathful state of currency, and that if *ever* this was to be effected, it was to be effected by that Bill; and the Prince Regent echoed the opinion. Well, then, will the new Bill say that it is expedient to make bank-notes a legal tender after May next, and to make them continue to pass for eleven years longer, instead of "*ensuring* "*payment* in the legal coin of the "realm?" If this should be the case, one thing will happen at any rate, and that is, that I shall no

longer have imputed to me a monopoly of that *inconsistency* which Glory's base tribe have so long, and so much in vain, though at so much expense, wrung from the soul of avarice itself, been dinning, or endeavouring to din into the ears of the country.

Amongst the entertainments at the feast of the Gridiron will be the *reading of this new Bill*. The Bill *must be printed*. An Act will hardly be passed without a job for *Andrew Strachan*; and Andrew sell's the Acts; and we can buy them. So that there is no getting out of this. We have *form* here as well as substance; and forms, though sometimes mischievous, are trammels for good purposes as well as bad. We must have *the Act*. It is not a resolution, prefaced by a speechifying; but it is an Act that we are going to have, and that we shall have to compare with the Act which we possess already. It will not be a sort of bewildering, indefinite thing; that may mean any thing or mean nothing. It

will be a thing that must have a meaning; and it shall be my business to make that meaning well known to the world, in spite of Six-Acts and all the bonds and judgments and pains and penalties thereunto belonging.

So much for the nature of the measure itself: let us now see of what nature will be its probable effects.

You, the money-hoarders, will please to bear in mind, that I have constantly been asserting, and, I think, proving, that prices would not come (speaking always with allowance for the effect of seasons) to their lowest mark, until after the first of May 1823; that is to say, until Peel's Bill should go into complete effect. My *Rustic Harangues* at Battle, at Huntingdon and at other places; but particularly at these two latter, pretty fully expressed my opinions upon this subject, and I think they left very little doubt in the mind of any sane person who heard or who afterwards read them. But, you will bear in

mind, that I always kept Peel's Bill in view; the *complete going into effect of that Bill*; for, if that Bill were trenched upon; if the stern-path-of-duty men *gave way*; if they did not stick to that immortal measure; then my reasoning did not hold. My conclusion was always guarded with this condition; "If Peel's Bill be carried into full effect, then such and such will be the case."

My opinion was founded on this; that when that Bill came to go into full effect in May 1823, there would not be a country rag left in circulation; because, the people would take the rags, carry them to the rag-men, and say, "Take your rags: take your dirty worthless stuff and give us gold, bearing the image and superscription of our gracious, gay and gallant Sovereign, bestriding his neighing charger, and driving his javelin into the bowels of the devil-begotten hag of paper-money." This, said I, will be the conduct of this most thinking and most loyal

people. Conduct, continued I, which they cannot now adopt, because the rag-man stands, backed and bolstered up by the law, and, instead of gold, tenders them the paper of the Borough Bank; promise to promise to pay; promise for promise, rag for rag; and no more talk of *money* than in a soldier's mess-room three hours after the issue of the pay. It is the accursed *legal tender*, said I, addressing myself to the good hearty fellows of Huntingdon, it is the diabolical *legal tender* that keeps us where we are and keeps the Borough-men where they are; "but," exclaimed I, in the fulness of the joy of my heart, "this accursed *legal tender*, " thanks to the Bill of that worthy " young man, Mr. PEEL, will, on " the first of May 1823, to use the " language of that immortal document, *finally cease and determine*."

Judge, then, my Friends, of the trouble of my mind; think, I pray you, how I must be *upset*; what mortification I must endure, what

affliction of spirit, upon hearing it proposed to re-enact this accursed *legal tender*, and to rob us of the inexpressible blessing of carrying about in our pockets the picture of that Sovereign, who, though he se'dom meet the eye, is well known to live in the hearts of all his people!

The *legal tender* is, in fact, the whole of the thing. To be sure, it is possible that it may be legal tender only in part, to *begin with*, and thus creep on by degrees: part this session and part next session; and never say a word about Peel's Bill; and so clip it away bit by bit; take it as children do sugar or nuts, by such small quantities at a time, as to make themselves wonder, at last, what is become of the great mass upon which they have been practising their purloinings. I can very well remember that, when I was a soldier, it almost always happened that I could hardly believe my own eyes when I came to the last piece of my loaf, made of

those beans and other equally valuable and wholesome materials with which the honest contractors used to regale us. It would be thus with Peel's Bill, which would all go away imperceptibly, if I were not here to keep a sharp look out, and to cry, "slice No. 1!" "slice No. 2!"

in a manner that shall make the whole nation hear me a great deal plainer than I can hear the watchmen after I am up in the morning, though they ought to cry out several hours after that. On board ship they call it *singing out* the hour or the fathoms, and a pretty singing it is, especially in the latter case, when every creature on board is so anxious to hear; but never did ship's crew or passengers hear "quarter less seven" plainer than I will make this nation hear "slice No. 1., 2., 3.," and so on to the last. I'll "sing out" I'll warrant you, my Friends! Nothing but a *law* can alter a *law*; unless, indeed, they were to do as they did in 1797; that is to

say, *violate the law*; set it at open defiance; and then come to the Parliament and obtain an *Act of Indemnity*; a thing, I do not say is to be *expected*, God forbid; but a thing, if we might judge from the past, far within the scope of possibility.

The *legal tender*, however, once enacted, once re-established, may grow. Like all other such things it may extend itself. At first it may be confined to tenders made in payment of country bank-notes, and to tenders made in payment of taxes, and may not reach so far as to include tenders made at the Borough bank itself. This is, however, you will observe, *everlasting paper-money*; it is to declare, that we can return to cash-payments only *in part*. Nevertheless, as the Borough bank would be always ready to pay its own notes at its own shop in gold, there would be, with those who preferred the gold (as there is at this time) no very great ground of complaint. The same hangings;

the same breakings of country banks; the same loss, ruin, and misery which have never failed to arise out of such a system, and which are now constantly arising out of this system, would be still going on; but if the *legal tender* went no farther than what is here contemplated, though it would in part be a repeal of Peel's Bill, it would not make things *worse* than they are at this time; and it would give not even me any ground to complain on the score of compulsory paper; for, if ever I voluntarily take country bank-note into my hand either in payment or in change, or ever keep Borough bank-note any longer time than is absolutely necessary for the sending of it or taking it to the shop, may all the pains and penalties of poverty conduct me to the grave, and that, too, without shroud or coffin!

But the effect upon the country in general will be great and lasting. The same quantity of circulating medium that is now in circulation may, probably, be kept

in circulation by this new scheme. I had so often proved, in articles resembling the *Rustic Harangue* at Battle, which Mr. CURTEIS did me the honour to listen to with great attention, though, I am sorry to say, he does not appear to have profited much from it; I had so often proved, in spite of all the ridiculous doctrines of Mr. Ricardo, that prices would continue to fall till after Peel's Bill had gone into complete effect; I had hammered away so long, and with blows so heavy, that I at last drove into the skulls of the Ministers themselves a conviction that if Peel's Bill were suffered to go into *full effect*, wheat would come down to four shillings a bushel or less upon an average of years; that the landlords would grow absolutely ungovernable and outrageous, and that God only knew what deeds of justice they might be deluded to commit in the hour of their distress! This appears to have frightened them, and to make them begin to think of something to ward off the fatal blow; some-

thing to turn it aside for a little while at any rate.

Yet, observe, all that this measure will do, unless it extend to *legal tender* at the *Borough bank-shop*, is to *keep things as they are*; to keep prices from falling lower than they now are upon an average of years. That is cold comfort for farmers and landlords; but that is better than *worse*. That is better than wheat at three or four shillings a bushel, that Peel's Bill going into full effect would have brought us to. I say it is better for the present landlords and present farmers *for the present*. Their ruin will be *less quick* than it would have been; the transfer of property slower. There will not be that *shock* that there would have been during the next twelve months. The transfer will go on; but slower than it would have gone on. It will be more ruinous *in the end*, to the farmers especially; because many of them that are not already ruined will endeavour to hold on, in the vague hope that *things may*

come about, a hope that would be totally destroyed by the full enforcement of Peel's Bill, and destroyed, too, before the pockets of some of the farmers were quite empty. It will be with them only destruction deferred; but it will prevent the landlords from being driven suddenly to adopt *deeds of desperation* like that of Parliamentary Reform. It will be a little time gained, at any rate, even if it stop with that limited repeal of which I have just spoken.

But, things cannot remain in this state long. We now count by *months*. If this scheme, or something of this sort, had not been adopted, we should soon have counted by *weeks*; and, in ten months' time, by *days*. This scheme may make us continue to count by months still; and he who counts by longer periods is a fool. But, in this state the thing cannot remain long. Backward or forward it must move: backward to *paper-money*, or forward to *reduction of interest*

of Debt; for, if we could suppose it possible for the Landlords to stand by and see their estates taken away; if we could suppose it possible for the thing to go on till the farms were all in the hands of bailiffs of the Government, cultivated under its orders for the benefit of the tax-eaters; if we could suppose any thing so monstrous as this to take place without a general convulsion in the country, still what is to be done *in case of war*?

Look, I beseech you, at the state of things; then, suppose the necessity of *preparations for war*; and then ask yourselves what must happen. You will observe that the payments now are not gold payments, because there is a legal tender in existence. The proposed measure would probably keep things much about what they are; and the transfer of property would be regularly going on; but let war come and then thirty or forty millions of additional taxes will be required to be raised within the year.

That would be impossible. Loans must, therefore, be resorted to again; and could these loans be raised in the *present currency*? Oh! no! we must return to the paper again; the legal tender must be made to extend again to the payments at the Borough Bank-shop. Thus all the attempts to pay in specie will have been blown to nothing. Everlasting paper will have come, and even the independence of the country, in case of war with a powerful enemy, will be put to hazard.

Nonsense, indeed, that is which runs in the heads of some persons, namely, that war can ever be a profitable trade. It may be necessary. It may be indispensable to the safety of a country; but it must, first or last, bring its *burthens*. Some of the farmers and landlords imagine, that because they prospered during the last war, war in general is favourable to their prosperity. They forget two things: first, that the prosperity was false; that it was

not stable; that it arose from an anticipation of the nation's resources; that it was like the splendour of a spendthrift, who shines away for a year and then becomes a beggar; that it was obtained through the means of a base paper-money, which destroyed the little farmer, which robbed the labourer; which made a National Debt, a Waterloo Debt and a pauper Debt; and that this thing called prosperity was in fact only the prelude to present penury and ruin. They forget, secondly, that the last war was a singular sort of war; that it made this country the place of deposit for the plunder taken from other nations. The French Nobles and Priests plundered their own country to enrich this; and, between Droits of Admiralty and Orders in Council, millions upon millions of the property of other nations were brought into this country; while, at the same time, their colonies were, one after another, rifled by us, our own colonies remaining untouched.

We had thus almost a monopoly of the trade, commerce and resources of all the nations around us. Is this to happen again, think you? Do you think that we should issue and enforce Orders in Council against America and France, with all these enormous debts hanging about our neck?

There must be loans, then, and most terrible loans, too. These will make the debt run up very quickly to an amount quite farcical but to think of. Legal tender must come back to the Bankshop itself. All must be paper, more completely than ever; and then observe, that the enemy has the power at any time, to *destroy that paper*. He need not employ fleets and armies against us. A few hundreds of thousands of pounds would do the business here as completely as it was done in France by the assignats made in London. To suppose that the enemy would not use these means, is to suppose that he would not be in earnest. To a certainty he

would use them; and thus the nation, or rather, the government, would fall by the very means which it was the object of Peel's Bill to prevent being put in execution. It was said, in the debates upon that Bill, by Lord LIVERPOOL, by Lord GRENVILLE, and by Mr. PEEL himself, that the nation never could be safe unless it returned to gold and silver payments. Nothing could be truer than this. It was, indeed, what I had repeatedly demonstrated in my several articles on the *Puff Out*; but what is of more importance than my demonstrations, is, that the *thing was true*; and so clearly true as for no man in his senses to entertain a doubt upon the subject. Well, then, if the nation can never be *safe* without gold and silver payments, what are we to think of this measure, the necessary and the only possible object of which is to make gold and silver payments utterly unknown except in London!

If war were to be only talked of, is it to be believed that the

Borough Bank could continue to pay in gold an hour? It must be protected again; and then all is paper and the Government is exposed to that species of warfare which we ourselves carried on against the assignats of France. It is in vain for the Parliament to make *Resolutions* about *adhering to the Standard*: it may resolve and resolve again, as long as it pleases, about the *standard*. The standard may be the same though the quartern loaf cost a pound. It has recently resolved that it will not alter the standard in fineness, weight or denomination. This it may adhere to still, and yet pass laws that will drive the standard wholly out of circulation; and the Bank Directors may again say, that the people *like the Paper better than the Gold*. I have heard of a father who was so tender a parent that he could *refuse* his children nothing; but then he strictly *forbade* them ever to ask for any thing. This was going sensibly to work, and the example seems to have been followed

by our Government and Borough Bank, who, if they had really intended that gold should get into circulation, would have given the people their choice by *abolishing the legal tender* many months ago. It is the legal tender that prevents the gold getting about the country. This legal tender would have been removed on the first of May next by Peel's Bill; and now while there are persons who have the audacity to pretend, that the Borough Bank wishes to get gold about the country instead of its notes, a Bill is actually before the House of Commons to do away that part of Peel's Bill which would have put an end to legal tender in ten months' time!

Need I say more to satisfy any body, that you, my Friends, the Money Hoarders, have acted the prudent part? It is impossible to foresee precisely what will take place. A very great reduction of taxes, or a complete transfer of real property, must take place, unless we return to the paper. To reduce taxes to any considerable

amount without a reduction of the interest of the Debt, would strip the Government naked and leave it as defenceless as a child. To reduce the interest of the Debt is manifestly just; but it would shake the system to the centre, and could not, indeed, be accomplished without a terrible convulsion, unless preceded by a Parliamentary Reform. With this Reform all is easy; but greatly do I fear that those who have the power to make it in a quiet manner, never will make it, and this fear is strengthened rather than otherwise, by the puerile proceedings and pretensions of those persons in Parliament who affect to have the cause in hand.

To the paper, therefore, to the base and barefaced paper, I think we shall return. The Landlords will not suffer their estates to pass away from them without making a monstrous clamour. Taught by experience; taught by what has happened within these six months; backed, as they find they are, by the loud and unanimous

voice of the people, when they *propose the reduction of taxes*, that is the battery, the plain common sense and popular battery that they will play off. The Ministers galled by this fire, and the Borough gentlemen trembling for their precious possessions, will seek shelter behind bales of paper, which, like the cotton bags that the Yankees used at New Orleans, will be an impenetrable parapet. Out will come the paper again; and my opinion is, that the measure with regard to which I have troubled you with these remarks, is only the first step towards coming back to that identical system of paper-money which was so much decried and abused by the ever famous Parliament of 1819.

In conclusion, my Friends, let me, once more, point out to you the state of vacillation and uncertainty in which the whole thing now exists. The wisest man is not able to foresee a tenth part of what may take place. There are so many contending interests

at work, that a convulsion, a pecuniary convulsion, at any rate, must be expected. When we see the Landlords actually endeavouring to impress the people with a notion that an *abolition of tithes* would bring relief; when we see published, under the name of an Irish Landlord, statements and opinions respecting the Church and the Clergy, the publication of which would, only a little while ago, have sent men to gaol under conviction for sedition and blasphemy; when we see interests like these at open war, who is to say what may or what may not happen? One thing, however, can never happen; and that is, that a piece of gold coin will never lose its value and cease to be an efficient resource to the possessor.

Add, therefore, my Friends, while you are able, to the number of these pieces, and then you may be tranquil amidst alarms, and in that tranquillity will receive the reward of your abhorrence of a base and all-ruining paper-money. I am

Your sincere Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

JOURNAL

FROM

KENSINGTON to St. ALBANS.

—

SAINT ALBANS, June 19, 1822.

—From Kensington to this place, through *Edgware*, *Stanmore*, and *Watford*, the crop is almost entirely *hay* from *fields* of *permanent* grass, manured by dung and other matter brought from the *Wen*. Near the *Wen*, where they have had the *first haul* of the Irish and other perambulating labourers, the hay is all in rick. Some miles further down it is nearly all in. Towards *Stanmore* and *Watford*, a third, perhaps, of the grass remains to be cut. It is curious to see how the thing regulates itself. We saw, all the way down, squads of labourers, of different departments, migrating from tract to tract; leaving the cleared fields behind them and proceeding on towards the work to be yet performed; and, then, as to the classes of labourers, the *mowers*, with their scythes on their

shoulders, were in front, going on towards the standing crops, while the *hay-makers* were coming on behind towards the grass already cut or cutting. The weather is fair and warm; so that the public-houses on the road are pouring out their beer pretty fast, and are getting a good share of the wages of these thirsty souls. It is an exchange of beer for sweat; but, the tax-eaters get, after all, the far greater part of the sweat; for, if it were not for the tax, the beer would sell for *three-halfpence* a pot, instead of *fivepence*. Of this three-pence-halfpenny the *Jews* and *Jobbers* get about twopence-halfpenny. It is curious to observe how the different labours are divided as to the *nations*. The mowers are all *English*; the hay-makers all *Irish*. Scotchmen toil hard enough in Scotland; but, when they go *from home* it is not to *work*, if you please. They are found in *gardens*, and especially in *gentlemen's gardens*. Tying up flowers, picking dead leaves off exotics, peeping into melon-frames,

publishing the banns of marriage between the "*male*" and "*female*" blossoms, tap-tap-tapping against a wall with a hammer that weighs half an ounce. They have backs as straight and shoulders as square as heroes of Waterloo; and who can blame them? The *digging*, the *mowing*, the *carrying of loads*; all the break-back and sweat-extracting work, they leave to be performed by those who have less *prudence* than they have. The great purpose of human art, the great end of human study, is to obtain *ease*, to throw the burden of labour from our own shoulders, and fix it on those of others. The crop of hay is very large. and that part which is in, is in very good order. We shall have hardly any hay that is not fine and sweet; and we shall have it, carried to London, at less, I dare say, than 3*l.* a *load*, that is 18 cwt. So that here the *evil* of "*over-production*" will be great indeed! Whether we shall have any projects for taking hay into *pawn* is more than any of us can say;

for, after what we have seen, need we be surprised, if we were to hear it proposed to take butter and even milk into *pawn*? In after times, the mad projects of these days will become proverbial. The Oracle and the over-production men will totally supplant the *March-hare*.—This is, all along here, and especially as far as Stanmore, a very dull and ugly country: flat, and all *grass-fields* and *elms*. Few *birds* of any kind, and few *constant* labourers being wanted, scarcely any cottages and gardens, which form one of the great beauties of a country. Stanmore is on a hill; but it looks over a country of little variety, though rich. What a difference between the view here and those which carry the eye over the coppices, the corn-fields, the hop-gardens and the orchards of Kent! It is miserable land from Stanmore to Watford, where we get into *Hertfordshire*. Hence to Saint Albans there is generally *chalk* at bottom with a *red* tenacious loam

at top, with flints, grey on the outside and dark blue within. Wherever this is the soil, the wheat grows well. The crops, and especially that of the barley, are very fine and very forward. The wheat, in general, does not appear to be a *heavy* crop; but the ears seem as if they would be full *from bottom to top*; and, we have had so much *heat*, that the grain is pretty sure to be plump, let the weather, for the rest of the summer, be what it may. The produce depends more on the weather, *previous to the coming out of the ear*, than on the *subsequent weather*. In the northern parts of America, where they have, some years, not heat enough to bring the Indian Corn to perfection, I have observed, that, if they have about fifteen days with the thermometer at *ninety*, before the ear makes its appearance, the crop never fails, though the weather may be ever so unfavourable *afterwards*. This allies with the old remark of the country people in England, that

"*May makes or mars the wheat*;" for, it is in May, that the ear and the grains are *formed*.

KENSINGTON, *June 24, 1822.*

—Set out at four this morning for *Redbourn*, and then turned off to the Westward to go to High Wycombe, through *Hempstead* and *Chesham*. The *wheat* is good all the way. The barley and oats *good enough* till I came to Hempstead. But the land along here is very fine: a red tenacious flinty loam upon a bed of chalk at a yard or two beneath, which, in my opinion, is the very best *corn land* that we have in England. The fields here, like those in the rich parts of Devonshire, will bear *perpetual grass*. Any of them will become *upland meadows*. The land is, in short, excellent, and it is a real *corn-country*. The *trees*, from Redburne to Hempstead are very fine; oaks, ashes, and beeches. Some of the finest of each sort, and the very finest ashes I ever saw in my life. They are in great numbers, and make the

fields look most beautiful. No villanous things of the *fir-tribe* offend the eye here. The custom is in this part of Hertfordshire (and, I am told it continues into Bedfordshire) to leave a *border* round the ploughed part of the fields to bear grass and to make hay from, so that, the grass being now made into hay, every corn field has a closely mowed *grass walk* about *ten feet wide* all round it, between the corn and the hedge. This is most beautiful! The hedges are now full of the shepherd's rose, honey-suckles, and all sorts of wild flowers; so that you are upon a grass walk, with this most beautiful of all flower gardens and shrubberies on your one hand, and with the corn on the other. And thus you go from field to field (on foot or on horseback), the sort of corn, the sort of underwood and timber, the shape and size of the fields, the height of the hedge-rows, the height of the trees, all *continually varying*. Talk of *pleasure-grounds* indeed!

What, that man ever invented, under the name of pleasure-grounds, can equal these fields in Hertfordshire? — This is a profitable system too; for the ground under hedges bears little corn, and it bears very good grass. Something, however, depends on the *nature of the soil*; for it is not all land that will bear grass, fit for hay, *perpetually*; and, when the land will not do that, these headlands would only be a harbour for weeds, and couch-grass, the seeds of which would fill the fields with their mischievous race. — MR. TULL has observed upon the great use of headlands. — It is curious enough, that these headlands *cease* soon after you *get into Buckinghamshire*. At first you see now-and-then a field *without* a grass headland; then it comes to now-and-then a field *with* one; and, at the end of five or six miles, they wholly cease. *Hempstead* is a very pretty town, with beautiful environs, and there is a canal that comes near it, and that goes

on to London. It lies at the foot of a hill. It is clean, substantially built, and a very pretty place altogether. Between Hempstead and Chesham the land is not so good. I came into Buckinghamshire before I got into the latter place. Passed over two commons. But, still, the land is *not bad*. It is *drier*; nearer the chalk, and not so red. The *wheat* continues good, though not heavy; but the barley, on the land that is not very good, is light, begins to look *blue*, and the backward oats are very short. On the still thinner lands the barley and oats must be a very short crop.—People do not sow *turnips*, the ground is so dry; and, I should think, that the *Swede-crop* will be very short; for *Swedes* ought to be *up* at least, by this time. If I had *Swedes* to sow, I would sow them now, and upon ground very deeply and finely broken. I would sow *directly* after the plough, not being *half an hour* behind it, and would *roll* the ground as hard as

possible. I am sure the plants would come up, even without rain. And, the moment the rain came, they would grow famously. —*Chesham* is a nice little town, lying in a deep and narrow valley, with a stream of water running through it. All along the country that I have come, the labourers' dwellings are good. They are made of what they call *brick-nog*; that is to say, a *frame of wood*, and a *single brick thick*, filling up the vacancies between the timber. They are generally covered with tile. Not *pretty* by any means; but they are good; and you see here as in Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire, and, indeed, in almost every part of England, that most interesting of all objects, that which is such an honour to England, and that which distinguishes it from all the rest of the world, namely, those *neatly kept and productive little gardens round the labourers' houses*, which are very seldom unornamented with more or less of flowers. We have only to look

at these to know what sort of people English labourers are: these gardens are the answer to the *Malthuses* and the *Scarletts*. Shut your mouths, you Scotch Economists; cease bawling, Mr. Brougham and you Edinburgh Reviewers, till you can show us something, not *like*, but approaching towards a likeness of *this*!

The orchards all along this country are by no means bad. Not like those of Herefordshire and the north of Kent; but a great deal better than in many other parts of the kingdom. The cherry-trees are pretty abundant and particularly good. There are not many of the *merries*, as they call them in Kent and Hampshire; that is to say, the little black cherry, the name of which is a corruption from the French, *merise*, in the singular, and *merises* in the plural. I saw the little boys in many places set to keep the birds off the cherries, which reminded me of the time when I followed the same occupation, and also of the toll that I

used to take in payment. The children are all along here, I mean the little children, locked out of the doors, while the fathers and mothers are at work in the fields. I saw many little groups of this sort; and this is one advantage of having plenty of room on the outside of a house. I never saw the country children better clad, or look cleaner and fatter than they look here, and I have the very great pleasure to add, that I do not think I saw three acres of potatoes in this whole tract of fine country, from ST. ALBANS to REDBOURN, from REDBOURN to HEMPSTEAD, and from HEMPSTEAD to CHESHAM. In all the houses where I have been, they use the *roasted rye* instead of coffee or tea, and I saw one gentleman who had sown a piece of rye (a grain not common in this part of the country) for the express purpose. It costs about *three farthings a pound*, roasted and ground into powder. The pay of the labourers varies from eight to twelve shillings a-week.

Grass mowers get two shillings a-day, two quarts of what they call strong beer, and as much small beer as they can drink. After quitting CHESHAM, I passed through a wood, resembling, as nearly as possible, the woods in the more cultivated parts of Long Island, with these exceptions. that there the woods consist of a great variety of trees, and of more beautiful foliage. Here there are only two sorts of trees beech and oak ; but the wood at bottom was precisely like an American wood : none of that stuff which we generally call underwood : the trees standing very thick in some places : the shade so complete as never to permit herbage below : no bushes of any sort ; and nothing to impede your steps but little spindling trees here and there grown up from the seed. The trees here are as lofty, too, as they generally are in the Long Island woods, and as straight, except in cases where you find clumps of the tulip-tree which sometimes go much above a hundred feet high as straight as a line. The oaks seem here to vie with the beeches in size as well as in loftiness and straightness. I saw several oaks which I think were more than eighty feet high, and several with a clear stem of more than forty feet, being pretty nearly as far through at that distance from the ground as at bottom, and I think I saw more than one with a clear stem of fifty feet, a foot and a half through at that distance from the ground. This is by far the finest *plank oak* that I ever saw in England. The road through the wood is winding and brings you out at the corner of a field, lying sloping to the south, three sides of it bordered by wood and the field planted as an orchard. This is precisely what you see in so many thousands of places in America. I had passed through *Hempstead* a little while before, which certainly gave its name to the Township in which I lived in Long Island, and which I used to write *Hempstead*, contrary to the orthography of the place, never having heard of such a place as

Hempstead in England. Passing through *Hempstead* I gave my mind a toss back to Long Island, and this beautiful wood and orchard really made me almost conceit that I was there, and gave rise to a thousand interesting and pleasant reflections. On quitting the wood I crossed the great road from London to WENDOVER, went across the park of Mr. DRAKE and up a steep hill towards the great road leading to WYCOMBE. Mr. DRAKE's is a very beautiful place and has a great deal of fine timber upon it. I think I counted pretty nearly 200 oak trees worth, on an average, five pounds a-piece, growing within twenty yards of the road that I was going along. Mr. DRAKE has some thousands of these I dare say, besides his beech; and, therefore, *he* will be able to stand a tug with the fundholders for some time. When I got to High Wycombe, I found every thing a week earlier than in the rich part of Hertfordshire. High Wycombe, as if the name was ironical, lies along the

bottom of a narrow and deep valley, the hills on each side being very steep indeed. The valley runs somewhere about from east to west, and the wheat on the hills facing the south will, if this weather continue, be fit to reap in ten days. I saw one field of oats that a bold farmer would cut next Monday. WYCOMBE is a very fine and very clean Market Town; the people all looking extremely well; the girls somewhat larger featured and larger boned than those in Sussex and not so fresh-coloured and bright-eyed. More like the girls of America, and that is saying quite as much as any reasonable woman can expect or wish for. The Hills on the south side of WYCOMBE form a park and estate now the property of SMITH who was a banker or stocking-maker at Nottingham, who was made a Lord in the time of Pitt and who purchased this estate of the late Marquis of LANSDOWNE, one of whose titles is Baron WYCOMBE. WYCOMBE is one of those famous

things called Boronglis, and 34 votes in this Borough send Sir JOHN DASHWOOD and Sir THOS. BARING to the collective wisdom. The landlord, where I put up, "remembered" the name of Dashwood, but had "forgotten" how the "other" was! There would be no forgettings of this sort, if these thirty-four, together with their representatives, were called upon to pay the share of the National Debt due from HIGH WYCOMBE. Between High Wycombe and Beaconsfield, where the soil is much about that last described, the wheat continued to be equally early with that about Wycombe. As I approached Uxbridge I got off the chalk upon a gravelly bottom, and then from Uxbridge to Shepherd's Bush on a bottom of clay. Grass-fields and elm-trees, with here and there a wheat or a bean-field, form the features of this most ugly country, which would have been perfectly unbearable after quitting the neighbourhoods of Hempshead, Chessham and High Wycombe, had it

not been for the diversion I derived from meeting, in all the various modes of conveyance, the cockneys going to *Ealing Fair*, which is one of those things which nature herself would almost seem to have provided for drawing off the matter and giving occasional relief to the overcharged *Wen*. I have traversed to-day what I think may be called an average of England as to corn-crops. Some of the best, certainly; and pretty nearly some of the worst. My observation as to the wheat is, that it will be a fair average crop, and extremely early; because, though it is not a heavy crop, though the ears are not long they will be full; and the earliness seems to preclude the possibility of blight, and to ensure plump grain. The barley and oats must, upon an average, be a light crop. The peas a light crop; and as to the beans, unless there have been rains where beans are mostly grown, they cannot be half a crop; for they will not endure heat. I tried masagan beans

in Long Island, and could not get them to bear more than a pod or two upon a stem. Beans love cold land and shade. The earliness of the harvest (for early it must be) is always a clear advantage. This fine summer, though it may not lead to a good crop of turnips, has already put safe into store such a crop of hay as I believe England never saw before. Looking out of the window I see the harness of the Wiltshire wagon-horses (at this moment going by) covered with the chalk-dust of that county; so that the fine weather continues in the West. The saint-foin hay has all been got in, in the chalk countries, without a drop of wet; and when that is the case, the farmers stand in no need of oats. The grass crops have been large every where, as well as got in in good order. The fallows must be in excellent order. It must be a sloven indeed that will sow his wheat in foul ground next autumn; and the Sun, where the fallows have been well stirred,

will have done more to enrich the land than all the dung-carts and all the other means employed by the hand of man. Such a summer is a great blessing; and the only draw-back is, the dismal apprehension of not seeing such another for many years to come. It is favourable for poultry, for colts, for calves, for lambs, for young animals of all descriptions, not excepting the game. The partridges will be very early. They are now getting into the roads with their young ones to roll in the dust. The first broods of partridges in England are very frequently killed by the wet and cold; and this is one reason why the game is not so plenty here as it is in countries more blest with sun. This will not be the case this year; and, in short, this is one of the finest years that I ever knew.

WM. COBBETT.

DINNER AT KENNINGTON.

GREAT "inconsistency" to be sure, in not persevering in my intention with regard to this Dinner. It was intended to be a burlesque celebration of the Anniversary of Peel's Bill; but, it having been suggested to me by persons on whose judgment it becomes me to place great reliance, that such celebration might be construed into the existence of a want of feeling on my part for the innumerable tradesmen and farmers, in every part of the Kingdom, of whose most dreadful anguish of mind that Bill has been the *immediate* cause, I have resolved not to run the risk of any such construction; and, therefore, the intention of having the Dinner is given up. I know well that great numbers of persons would see the celebration in its true light; but I also know that there are innumerable hirelings of one sort and another, and particularly those attached to the stock-jobbing crew, who would be ready to give a wrong turn to the thing; and that they might, possibly, raise a clamour, which

would be injurious to a cause no part of which ought to be risked for the sake of half a day's fun. The *Feast of the Gridiron* is a very different thing. That will be to celebrate merely the accomplishment of prophecies; and cannot possibly wound the feelings of any one, except it be those whose feelings it is desirable to wound.

WM. COBBETT.

THE last Register, containing the Letter to the Men of Kent on their late Petition for a Reduction of the Interest of the Debt, is now published in a *Threepenny* Pamphlet, and is entitled, "REDUCTION NO ROBBERY."—It is very desirable that it should be widely circulated; that it should get into all parts of the country and be well read and digested; that it should be read by all the Farmers more especially, and that, too, without delay. It will, therefore, for the purpose of circulation, be sold as follows:

For a thousand, 5*l*.

For five hundred, 3*l*.

For two hundred and seventy-five, 2*l*.

For one hundred and twenty-five, 1*l*.

Gentlemen in the country will obtain any number sent to them, carriage free, by writing to the Office of the Register, No. 123, Fleet-street, London.

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DAILY PAPER.

THE readers of the Register will remember, that, when I published my proposal for sending forth a DAILY EVENING PAPER, I stated the principal object to be, to obtain the means of publishing my remarks on the proceedings in parliament on the same day, as often as possible, with the account of the proceedings itself; a thing impossible to be done in the Register. I said then, as I now say, that, in my opinion, the proceedings of this session of parliament, will decide the fate, not of the country, for that nothing can destroy, but the fate of certain classes in it, and especially of the landlords and of many of the farmers. For this reason I wished to get something from the press oftener than once a week; and, indeed, on any, or on every, day, if necessary. I, therefore, proposed to publish an Evening Paper daily, throughout the session of parliament at any rate; but, though there were plenty of persons to take such paper, I found, upon actually making the preparations for the undertaking, that the difficulties, and especially the labours in detail, were such as to deter me from proceeding to publication, without, at least, longer time for preparation. Yet, time passes; the session wears away; and I am anxious to do something. I have, therefore, entered into an arrangement with the Proprietor of the STATESMAN, an Evening Paper long established and well known, and which, as it

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is now in part my property, I shall, of course, apply to *precisely the same purposes* that I should have applied a daily paper of which I should have been the sole proprietor. Those gentlemen, not particularly known to me, who had ordered *my daily paper*, will, perhaps, now order the STATESMAN; and those friends, in the several parts of the country, who were so good as to propose to make use of my paper as a vehicle of advertisements, will oblige me in fulfilling their intention by addressing their advertisements to the paper, in which I am now concerned. This undertaking will in nowise interfere with the publication, or the matter, of the REGISTER, which I always regard as my *main force*; as my *steady column* to maintain the battle with, until Corruption be laid prostrate. But, I want something to *skirmish* with; something to route follies and to repel falsehoods *instantly*. A thousand things that cry aloud for the lash cannot be noticed in the REGISTER, and thus escape altogether. The STATESMAN will, of course, contain the earliest publication of any *Rustic Harangues* that I may hereafter make; and it will attend particularly to all proceedings at County or other Meetings, where the affairs of Agriculture or the question of Reform shall be agitated. Such *Reports*, or *Returns*, as may be laid before Parliament, and as appertain to the subject of *Agriculture* will be always attended to, and if unintelligible to readers in general, in their original state (which is, unhappily, but too often the case) an endeavour will be made to render them capable of being understood. No effort will be neglected to obtain accurate accounts of *prices* of produce and of stock in the several parts of the country; and also of prices in foreign countries; and, I trust that the movements of the *Buck*, and all the projects respecting the *currency*, will be watched with great vigilance.—

Gentlemen who may wish, in consequence of this notification, to be supplied with The STATESMAN, will please to apply to their respective *newsmen*; those who applied before at the Office of The REGISTER (which is now No. 183, Fleet-street) will, if they please, renew their applications through the same channel.—Those Correspondents, who have been so kind as to send me *country newspapers*, with particular passages *marked* in them, will, I hope, perceive, that such favours will now be more valuable than ever. It is impossible for me to rate too highly the value of such communications, or to express my gratitude for them in terms too strong.

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ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

In consequence of the repeated seizures of Mr. Carlile's Property by the Crown, under the pretence of meeting his Fines, but in reality to check the sale and progress of his important Publications; the Committee, for the management of a Subscription to meet those Fines urge the necessity of an immediate settlement of them upon public Notice. There is no better way to convince a persecuting administration of Government, and those monstrous Associations established for the purpose of putting down all free and liberal discussion, that all their efforts against the Press are vain, than to shew them that an inquiring Public are ready to sustain the Fines imposed upon individuals for the publication of matters of opinion. For want of the means to cover his Fines, the moment they were imposed, and to protect his Stock in Trade, Mr. Carlile has suffered a loss of more than double and treble their amount, by the seizure and detention of his Property. To put a stop to further injury, the Committee intrude themselves upon public attention, and solicit the urgent advance of the necessary Sums for the immediate payment of the whole amount of the Fines—**Fifteen Hundred Pounds.**

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